EXCLUSIVE: ZILLIACUS INTERVIEWS KHRUSHCHEV

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BRITISH M.P.'S STORY FOR THE GUARDIAN

Soviet Premier's frank talk about A-tests and Berlin

Following is an interview by British Labor M.P. Konni Zilliacus with Soviet Premier Khrushchev. The interview took place the day before the Soviet Union announced it would resume the testing of nuclear weapons. A member of the Labor Party for 40 years, and one of its most outspoken members, Zilliacus is in the rare position of having easy access to leaders of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and the Asian and African nations. With 10 languages at his command and a record of 19 years' service with the League of Nations, Zilliacus is the author of 16 books and numerous pamphlets, all of them dedicated to seeking solutions to the world's problems which prevent a stable peace.

By Konni Zilliacus

SINCE I FIRST MET Nikita Khrushchev in London in 1956, I have asked to see him every time I visited the Soviet Union, and he has always found time for me. But this was the first time I met him at his villa—or rather "summer residence." It is a large square-cut white mansion, with pillars and a big porch, in the semi-classical style so popular on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, a bit like a colonial-type house in the Old South. We sat out on the beach, K. looking bronzed and fit and bursting with vitality and energy (he swims every day, gets massages and is off alcohol in any form, except on rare state occasions, and looks the picture of health).

He produced a pair of huge field glasses: "I use these to look for Polaris submarines," he said, chuckling, "and do you know who gave them to me? Dr. Adenauer!" After a bit more badinage he said, "I have some news for you that will upset you—it will be in tomorrow's papers."

"Oh," I said, "do you mean your decision to keep some of your men under colors whose service has expired?" (This report had been in that morning's papers.)

"No, he said, "it is worse than that. We have decided to resume tests. I know that is going to hurt and grieve our friends in the West, particularly the intellectuals, and we have done it only very reluctantly. But we cannot help ourselves. We asked for a German settlement in 1958 and got only abuse and negatives in return. We raised the subject again this time and said we wanted a peace treaty with both Germanies if possible, but as a pis aller (makeshift) at least with the German Democratic Republic. We have made our proposals and explained that they were meant as a basis for discussion only, and that we would gladly discuss any Western counter-proposals or amendments. But above all, we wanted serious negotiations to put an end to a situation which is becoming so dangerous to peace that we could not just sit on our hands and watch it develop.

"The Western powers have been arming Western Germany until she is now the strongest power in NATO. As its military power increases, the arrogance and demands of the Western German Government have grown. The propaganda for recovering the territories lost to Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union as a result of the defeat of Hitler's aggression has now become official, and its tone is ever more menacing.

"The ex-Nazi generals in charge of the Bundeswehr and Defense Minister Strauss are howling for nuclear weapons. Judging by how they have smashed all the restrictions on their armaments up to now, there is every reason to believe that they will get these weapons in the near future, and no reason whatever for any confidence that nuclear warheads in Germany, although nominally under U.S. control, will not simply be taken over [by Germans] at a critical moment. The only guarantee is to move nuclear weapons and bases from German territory, as part of an agreement on disengagement and disarmament.

"It is not, of course, that we have any doubt that Germany would be wiped off the face of the earth if her leaders did start a war. That is not the point. We are not afraid of German military strength. But we have no confidence in the political judgment of the present rulers of Western Germany. We believe they might be mad enough to launch an adventure which would touch off a world war, even if the result would be their annihilation. That we do not want. We are not going to tolerate the Western powers increasing this menace daily and hourly by arming Western Germany and encouraging the ambition of army and political leaders, through their refusal to recognize, let alone guarantee, the Polish frontier or, indeed, even to recognize the existence of the German Democratic Republic, or the need for a change in what President Eisenhower himself at Camp David described as 'the anomalous and dangerous' status quo in Berlin, which he admitted should be changed."

AT THIS POINT I objected that, as I saw it, the real difficulty in the West was the prevalence of fear and suspicion, and that what the Soviet Government had decided to do would strengthen this mood and enlist on the West's side the moral revulsion and horror of nuclear tests shared by people throughout the world. Such a result, I said, might make the cold warriors and their governments more intransigent and intractable, rather than less.

Khrushchev answered, "No. I don't believe it will work out that way. When we proposed negotiations and a peace treaty, we were met with sabre-rattling, increases in defense budgets and armed forces and threats of war. The moment we replied by getting tough, the other side became reasonable. I note for instance, that Dr. Adenauer and Herr Joseph Strauss have suddenly discovered the virtues of negotiation and compromise. Mark my words, the result of our doing this is going to be to induce the governments to get down to negotiations in earnest."

I suggested that the conversion to negotiation of Adenauer and Strauss might have been due to their discovering in their election campaign that the German people, like all peoples, desperately wanted peace, and they had to appeal to this sentiment to win votes. I was afraid, I added, that whether or not he was right in thinking his tough line would make the Western governments and their supporters more reasonable, it was certain to indispose and weaken the forces within the Western countries which had long been fighting for the conversion of Western cold-war policies to policies of peaceful co-existence, so that at best this decision was going to have a twofold effect, and at worst it would make the whole situation more difficult.

BUT K. WAS CONFIDENT: "We have to deal with those in power and deal with them on the basis of how they try to treat us. That was why I told Fanfani [the Italian Premier] when I saw him that there would be no war because he, Dr. Adenauer, President de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan were my hostages. The United States could not fight the Soviet Union without using their territories, and, in the resulting war, whatever chances the U.S. and the Soviet Union might or might not have of surviving, in

(Continued on Page 4)

Coming next week—
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE'S
SHOPPING GUIDE
Don't buy a single holiday gift until you see the GBS Holiday Shopping Guide. It's full of delightful surprises from around the world, including
- Greeting cards from Mexico!
- Dolls • Watches • Cameras and many other lovely gifts

4 Pages! Out next week!

THE MAIL BAG

Bomb testing (cont.)

CHICAGO, ILL.

Re attacks on the GUARDIAN as apologist for the Soviet resumption of tests: I wonder how many of these people sent any protest to Kennedy or their Senators and Congressmen, not to vote the additional $5 billion for war, altogether $48 billion which was voted unanimously before the U.S.S.R. resumed the blasts?

A. Smied

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

To this date, the Soviet Union has exploded some 15 bombs of varying degrees of strength. Besides raising the "fallout" level around the world, they have perpetuated a renewed arms race with the West. Yet the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a newspaper that I have respected, has refused to condemn them. If you are to be listened to, you must call a "spade a spade."

This, of course, does not condone the actions of our government. We have done very little in the name of world peace. And yet, the renewed atomic testing, unilaterally, by the Soviet Union represents a grave and serious act, not in the interests of humanity.

S. J.

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RED BANK, N.J.

It is the sacred duty of a government to defend its people and homeland. Surrounded by hostile bases, subjected to U-2 and RB-47 incidents, with NATO armed forces staging maneuvers on her frontiers, with belligerent statements by Western leaders, the U.S.S.R. thought it necessary to perfect her defenses Who is to blame her?

Let's not forget that the NATO powers have made many more tests, with much more fallout, than the U.S.S.R., including those of France, which furnished a full legal reason for the U.S.S.R. to renounce the moratorium on testing.

(Mrs.) Besse Strassburger

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BRONX, N.Y.

There's no logic or justice in condoning the action of the U.S.S.R., as the GUARDIAN is carefully doing. Only the true peace leaders will influence the majority of the world's people. The maniacal muscle-flexers can only destroy us—whether they be capitalist or communist.

Paul Meyerson

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BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Some people, rather than face up to unpopular measures, prefer endangering the entire revolutionary struggle and achievement in the Soviet Union. Something like the philosophy that guided the Spanish "progressives" who waited long enough without decisive action until the Franco gang could carry out a successful counterrevolution.

Counterrevolution cannot be smashed by explanations by those who do not understand the nature of the enemy. It is done by decisive action at the earliest possible moment. **—J.D.**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

GLEN COVE, L. I.—City officials in this North Shore Nassau County community believe in realism. In order to dramatize a civil defense demonstration here Saturday morning, they're going to bombard everybody who attends with a tiny dose of radiation. The plan, as explained today, is that after the people have been bombarded, they will be told about it. Speakers will explain that the harmless dose would have been a killer if multiplied many times.

—The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** Oct. 5

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. N., New York City.

French fallout

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Robert E. Light's article on nuclear testing speaks only of the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Britain: Is he a Frenchman, that he doesn't mention France's testing in the Sahara Desert? Or have France's atomic bombs been made without fallout?

Clint W. Lovely

Calling the samovar black

ERWIN, TENN.

Our Mr. Adlai Stevenson has upbraided the U.S.S.R. for having troops in Poland and Hungary. Does he really not know that Uncle Sam has troops in Cuba, the Philippines, Taiwan, South Korea, Laos, West Germany, England, Panama, etc., etc., with more than 900 military bases all over the world?

Ernest Seeman

Man and mural

NEW YORK, N.Y.

More than a year after the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros' imprisonment in Mexico on a charge of "tending to cause social dissolution," and many months after the GUARDIAN's appeal on his behalf, the New York **Times** art critic, John Canaday, has written an interesting article on Siqueiros' huge unfinished mural in Chapultepec Castle (issue of Sept. 24). This is the work which was interrupted by the artist's arrest. Canaday acknowledges the greatness of the mural, whose subject is the 1910 revolution against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. One wishes that he were equally aware of the infamy of the Mexican government's persecution of Siqueiros for his defense of the interest of the workers and farmers of his country.

It is particularly chilling to read Canaday's calm speculation that "if Siqueiros is never able to complete his mural, it should be preserved exactly as it now is." It's as though he were suggesting the transfer of the whole room to a waxworks museum, along with a figure of the artist himself. To compound the irony, he adds: "One only wishes that Siqueiros' passion and artistry could have been inspired by the beleaguered ideals of the free world." Since these "ideals" are apparently the basis of his persecution, it is hard to see how he could be persuaded by them to renounce his lifelong devotion to social justice.

Carl Wentworth

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE HIGH COST OF FORCE went ever higher in Korea, where American dead alone numbered more than 15,000 and the total of casualties reached 90,000 (¼ of the American total in World War I). Truce talks were scheduled for resumption this week. But in a press conference, Oct. 16, Gen. Ridgeway had announced that the U.S. will never agree to a truce at the 38th Parallel, said the actual battle line prevailing when and if a cease-fire is reached must be the truce line. He indicated he was preparing to drive to the Yalu. The **Wall Street Journal** (Oct. 19) said the Pentagon was pushing "secret plans" for ending the war with victory in all Korea. A frontline dispatch from one sector indicated the price of Ridgeway's highly publicized offensives: "One of every two infantrymen participatin in the drive was dead or wounded yesterday . . . All [of one] company's officers were casualties except for one lieutenant [in a rear position]. In another company, every officer was either wounded or listed as missing in action."

—From the National Guardian, Oct. 24, 1951

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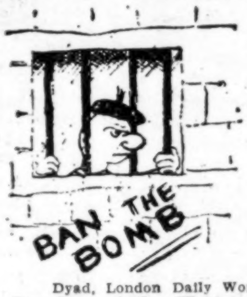
MEXICO CITY, MEX.

For the information of GUARDIAN readers, Siqueiros has been pretty sick recently, and he has also been having trouble with his eyes. The other day he collapsed and was unconscious for some time. The prison hospital is impossibly dirty and without facilities for proper medical care. His friends and relatives would like to have him transferred to a government hospital, but the authorities so far have refused to allow this.

John McGhee



Dyad, London Daily Worker

Freedom of the West.

For the students

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Enclosed please find check to cover five 13-week trial subscriptions which I would like to be sent to interested college students.

The GUARDIAN truly represents high-minded journalism. Would that it could find its way to every college campus.

A. L.

Indian summer success

CAZENOVIA, N.Y.

We had a most successful Indian summer affair for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, on our lakefront and cleared $275. There were nearly 70 people present. We had people from Ithaca, Utica, Clinton, Canastota and Gouverneur and of course Cazenovia and Syracuse. I wish we could have had a larger crowd to hear Rockwell Kent, for he was magnificent. Said just the rather things for a group of somewhat mixed political views and inspired everybody who heard him.

Jane Grey Anderson

Archie Brown for supervisor

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

When Archie Brown filed for supervisor in San Francisco's municipal elections this year he declared that the only escape from H-bomb terror lay in complete disarmament by all countries.

Brown is one of 33 candidates for supervisor. Running for the same office in 1959, Brown polled 33,583 votes. He has been an active member of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union for more than 25 years.

Subpenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1960, Brown led the fight within the hearing chambers to compel the committee to open the doors on a first-come, first-served basis, instead of only to "white card" holders.

This year Brown is campaigning while under Landrum-Griffin Act indictment because his union elected him to the ILWU executive board. The government says ILWU members can't do this because Brown is alleged to be a member of the Communist Party.

Brown emphasizes that if government can dictate whom union members shall or shall not elect, it is only one step more to dictation at the public polling booth.

Newspapers, radio and TV omit all mention of the Brown campaign. But we are going directly to the people—in their unions, civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, social organizations and at shopping centers.

If we are able to buy radio and TV time we can make the campaign a greater force for peace, for progress.

We have less than three weeks to Election Day, Nov. 7. We appeal to your readers for immediate financial aid.

Ralph Izard,
Campaign Manager

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VOL. 14, No. 2 401 October 23, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

A day of infamy

AS OF OCT. 19, 1961, it became a crime—under untested provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act)—for a Communist in the United States to apply for or use a U.S. passport, to apply for or hold a non-elective job in the Federal government, or hold a job in a labor organization or in any enterprise the Defense Secretary designates as a "defense facility."

It also became mandatory that printed materials mailed by or for the Communist Party be labeled as coming from a Communist action organization. This would apply, presumably, if the CP should undertake to distribute the Bible, for example, or even reprints of the dissents of four Supreme Court justices from the majority opinion of last June 5 permitting the McCarran Act to enter the enforcement stage this year after 11 years of legal opposition to it conducted principally by the Communist Party.

Thirty days from Oct. 19, on Nov. 18, 1961, the registration order against the Communist Party goes into effect. The CP has declared that it will not comply, and the legal struggle against the Act on this key count will then be renewed along constitutional lines foreseen by the whole Supreme Court, majority and minority, namely that the registration requirement demands an act which forfeits an individual's rights under the Fifth Amendment.

The portions of the Act now in force will all undoubtedly be challenged on constitutionality as the Dept. of Justice seeks to enforce them. One at least has a built-in delay: the Secretary of Defense must first designate every "defense facility" in the land, and each must post notice for the information of workers.

THE EXTENT to which the anachronistic McCarran Act strikes at American liberties depends on the extent to which our country is willing to move along the path originally trod by Hitler Germany and fascist Italy, and in the world today by South Africa, Franco Spain, Portugal, the Dominican Republic and South Korea.

The President has received and sent to the Attorney-General the petition initiated by 25 prominent citizens, including Nobel Laureates Linus Pauling and Harold Urey, and concurred in by some 300 others, urging him to order proceedings under the Internal Security Act terminated and to recommend its repeal.

Alternatively, the petition requests that the validity of the registration order against the CP "be tested against a single individual in order to minimize the destructive impact of the enforcement procedure." The petition further requests that proceedings against other organizations as Communist-action, Communist-front or Communist-infiltrated, be halted until the validity of the registration order is tested against the Fifth Amendment.

In urging withdrawal of proceedings under the Act, the petition called approval of the Act eleven years late "a tragic irony" and observed that "freedom of speech has no meaning if its protections are withheld from those who advocate revolutionary change."

"We have seen our country degenerate from a buoyant faith in freedom to a fear-inspired conformity," the petitioners stated. "While we fill the airways of the world with boasts of our free democratic life, we have become unfree as never before."

"Quite apart from the [Supreme Court] decision's devastating impact upon the framework of our democratic freedoms," the petition said, "it sanctions the archaic instruments of self- incrimination and self-defamation which find their counterparts in the persecution of Catholics by Protestants and Protestants by Catholics in the 17th and 18th Centuries. How can we at this stage in our history seriously countenance a law which coerces an organization or an individual into public self-accusation and self-confession in violation of the Fifth Amendment of our Constitution?"

ONE FURTHER PROVISO of the McCarran Act went into effect Oct. 19: Employees of the Communist Party may no longer share the benefits of the Federal Old Age (Social Security) program. What happens to payments they have been making all their working years has not been made clear. **—THE GUARDIAN**

A MAJOR SUPREME COURT TEST

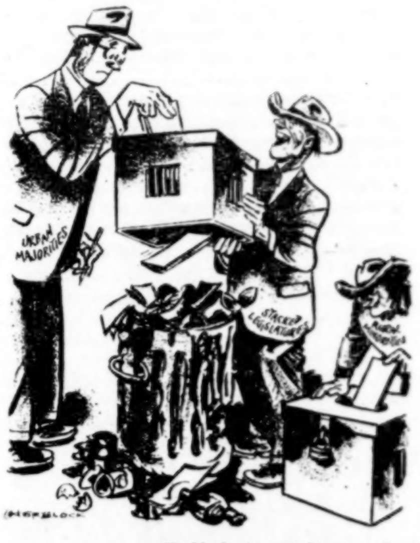
New reapportionment case challenges rural domination

By Lawrence Emery

AT THE TURN of the century 60% of the population of the United States lived on the farm or in small rural communities. Today seven out of ten Americans live in cities or their suburbs. But in every state in the union a minority of rural voters elects the majority of representatives in state legislatures. And since state legislatures define the boundaries of Congressional districts, the problem spills over into the national House of Representatives.

A study just completed by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration shows that the refusal of state legislatures to revise their legislative districts gives rural-area voters more than twice the representation of big-city voters in the country as a whole.

TENNESSEE IMPETUS: The first case argued before the Supreme Court in its current session is one that could upset this pattern, described by one commentator as a "national political sickness." The suit was brought by 11 urban voters of Tennessee, including Mayor Ben West of Nashville. Although Tennessee's state constitution requires a reapportionment of election districts every ten years to reflect population shifts, no action has been taken there since 1901. Today the ratio of voting strength between the state's cities and rural areas is as high as 20 to 1.



Herblock in Washington Post

"You can't say we're denying your right to vote."

The Supreme Court has traditionally held to a hands-off policy in such cases. In a 1946 suit involving Illinois voters who charged they were victims of "unconstitutional discrimination" because the state's Congressional districts had not been redrawn since 1901, the Court dismissed the case in a 4-to-3 decision. Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote that "courts ought not to enter this political thicket." He suggested then that the remedy lay in action by the state legislatures or by Congress.

A SERIOUS DENIAL: But Charles S. Rhyne, a Washington lawyer who argued the present case for the Tennessee petitioners, noted "the impossibility of expecting those who have usurped this power ever to turn it loose." He said the issue involves "as serious a denial of constitutional rights as has ever been brought before this court." U.S. Solicitor General Archibald Cox also argued for the petitioners and told the Court that "fair [electoral] districts are an indispensable condition of a free country."

The Tennessee petitioners were also supported by the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, whose membership includes legal officials in 1,200 cities in all 50 states. In a friend-of-the-court brief the Institute said. "Apportionments made when the greater part of the population was located in rural communities are still determining and undermining our elections . . . As a consequence, the municipality of 1960 is forced to function in a horse-and-buggy environment where there is little political recognition of the heavy demands of an urban population."

TUSKEGEE CASE: In 1958 the Supreme Court refused, 5 to 4, to take jurisdiction in a challenge to Georgia's county unit system under which the rural vote is dominant. But in its last term the Court did, theoretically at least, enter this "political thicket" when it ruled unanimously that the state of Alabama could not gerrymander the town of Tuskegee in such a way as to exclude its Negro voters. However, Justice Frankfurter, who wrote the opinion, made it clear that the Alabama ruling did not overrule the earlier hands-off decision in the 1946 Illinois case.

He wrote: "When a state exercises power wholly within the domain of state interest, it is insulated from Federal judicial review. But such insulation is not carried over when state power is used as an instrument for circumventing a Federally protected right." In the current Tennessee case, the petitioners have argued that their under-representation violates the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees of equal protection of the laws and due process.

A LONG TIME: Voters in Florida and Minnesota have gone to court charging that apportionment in their states is so unfair as to violate the Federal Constitution. The Florida petitioners complained that Dade County (including Miami) with a population of 495,084 elects one state senator, while Jefferson County with a population of 10,413 has equal representation.

The Minnesota case was based on the fact that there had been no reapportionment in the state since 1913 and that state senatorial districts varied in size from 18,878 to 153,455. A three-judge Federal court refused to dismiss the suit but decided to give the legislature a chance to act on the matter. A reapportionment bill was passed and will go into effect in 1962; it does not meet the constitutional ideal of equal representation but it is an improvement.

CONN. AND CALIF.: Many states have glaring inequalities. Maryland's four largest urban counties have 67% of the population but elect only 44% of the lower house and 21% of the Senate. In Connecticut, Hartford, with a population of 116,000, has two representatives in the state house—but so does the town of Colebrook with a population of 547. Statewide, Connecticut's ten largest cities have 46% of the population but elect only 7% of the lower house. California's four largest urban counties have 60% of the population but elect only 10% of the senate. New York City's 8,000,000 population elects 90 members of the state assembly, but 7,000,000 people upstate choose 118.

If the Supreme Court upsets these ancient patterns with a favorable ruling in the Tennessee case, it would not only change the balance of political power in the states but would bring about a radical shift of relations between state and Federal authority and alter the composition of the lower house of Congress.

It would be the beginning of the end of conservative rural domination of state and national government. For one thing, it would take control of state finances from "cow-county legislators" and give more power to urban interests in coping with such mounting problems as transportation, schools and slum clearance. This in turn could mean a lessening of the dependence of most states on Federal aid in such matters.

THE NEGRO VOTE: More proportionate representation for the country's big cities would also enhance the power of the Negro vote in every part of the nation.

A favorable decision would also affect the House of Representatives radically. Many states are now redrawing their Congressional districts on the basis of the 1960 Federal census. While it is the custom of the party in power to redistrict their states by gerrymandering their political opponents out of business, the new lines are usually drawn to the specifications of the dominant rural interests in the state legislatures.

This urban-rural conflict has now led to a deadlock in four northern states, which could lead to their entire Congressional delegations running at large. This would not only make a farce of representative government but, if one party was to sweep all four states, could lead to an unbelievable distortion of political power in the House.

As the Washington **Post** has said, the Tennessee case "could produce one of the most important decisions the Court has ever rendered."

NO... WAR... OVER... BERLIN
Conference of Greater N.Y. Peace Groups
NO... WAR... OVER... BERLIN

GUARDIAN photo by Robert Joyce

Despite the hysteria, peace is popular

About 700 persons from the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups picketed the UN Oct. 10 for an end to nuclear tests and for disarmament . . . A week later the pacifist San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace Walkers returned to New York. They were to relate their experiences at a meeting Oct. 19 at Community Church, 40 E. 35 St. . . . On Nov. 1, about 500 women and their children were to protest nuclear tests from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. at Atomic Energy Commission offices, 376 Hudson St., N.Y.C.

'COUNT-DOWN TO REVOLUTION HAS BEGUN'

A word to the wise from Jagan

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN, Chief Minister of British Guiana, in his first public address during his current visit to the United States and Canada, gave a picture of the political and economic expectations of the people of his country and Latin America.

"The count-down to revolution has already begun," he said. "If the people of Latin America are not to be permitted to carry out, by constitutional methods, urgent programs of social and economic reform, their growing discontent will topple over—as certainly as the night follows day—into revolution."

Dr. Jagan spoke to an overflow crowd of 500 at the Great Neck Friday Forum at Manhattan's Henry Hudson Hotel, Oct. 13, the day after his arrival here.

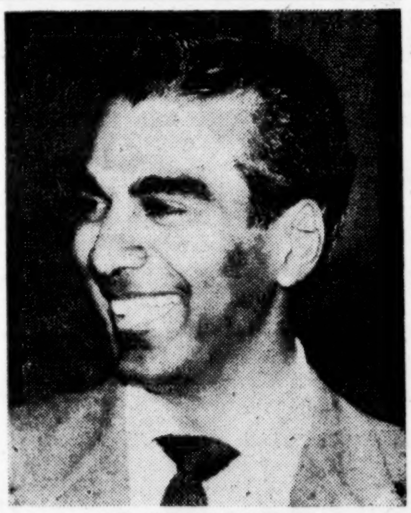
He had been greeted at Idlewild airport by the press, by Sir Hugh Foot, adviser to the British Mission to the United Nations, and almost 100 well-wishers. At the airport Dr. Jagan said that he planned to confer with President Kennedy and that his aim was "to build the bonds of friendship and good will with the United States."

"The cruel fact of the contemporary world situation," he told the Forum audence, "is that the rich countries of the world are today getting richer while the poor countries of the world are today getting poorer."

A prime task of colonial countries, Dr. Jagan said, is to stop the outflow of capital and to stimulate capital accumulation within the country. He continued: "I am prepared to take advice from everywhere for our aim—the creation of a socialist economic system. Countries like the United States must be prepared not only to lend us money but to provide stable markets through trade agreements."

On NBC's "Meet the Press" Sunday, Oct. 15, Dr. Jagan pointed out that it is in the interests of the larger powers to help underdeveloped countries and thereby create new markets.

Dr. Jagan's appearance at the Friday Night Forum had been preceded by cancellation of his scheduled talk at Fresh Meadows Inn, Flushing, by the owner, Dr. Benjamin Rosenfeld, who told of "community pressure." Later the Inn again offered its facilities after the British pressured the State Dept. to intervene, but the Forum decided to hold the program at the Manhattan hotel.



DR. CHEDDI JAGAN
Candidly speaking

The meeting was picketed by two pickets and a Veteran of Foreign Wars official with signs which read: "VFW protests communist propaganda of Cheddi Jagan." Dr. Jagan's schedule included a two-day visit to Canada and meetings with State Dept. officials as well as with President Kennedy.

The Krushchev interview

(Continued from Page 1)

whole or in part, the European allies of the U.S. would certainly have none at all. They know it. That is why there will not be any war."

Mr. K. thought de Gaulle was a political Rip van Winkle with delusions of grandeur, who dreamed of France as she was a century ago and had not caught up with the modern world. He did not have an exalted opinion either of Adenauer or Fanfani. But, he said, Macmillan was too intelligent a man to want a war or have any illusions about the consequences of one. "These people are my allies," he repeated, "because they are my hostages!"

Things might or might not work out that way, I suggested, but what about the peoples who wanted peace and particularly those who had all along been fighting for peaceful coexistence? Were they not also the allies of the Soviet Union in averting the danger of war, and what would be the impact on them of this decision?

"I know," said K., "that this is going to upset them, particularly the intellectuals, as I have said, but after all, the peoples keep on re-electing the governments that wage cold war on us and reply to our requests for negotiations by sabre-rattling and by stepping up their war preparations. Even in your Labor Party those who want a real peace policy do not control the party.

"The trouble with public opinion is that it is asleep. Somehow or other it has got to wake up before it is too late. It must realize that unless we change the course on which we are now bound we are heading for catastrophe, and there is not much time left. I hope that what we have done will give public opinion a jolt and wake it out of its dreams."

THIS WAS THE ONLY TIME the underlying emotion rose to the surface; there was a note almost of anguish in the way he said that. At this point I observed that I was not convinced, but after all the Soviet leaders had taken a decision and the rest of us had to face its consequences, whether we liked it or not. I took it that he agreed that this made it more urgent than ever to get a settlement of the outstanding political issues, particularly the dangerous one of Berlin and Germany.

KUMAR GOSHAL

back after a 17-week tour of Africa, India and Israel, will give

A REPORT ON AFRICA

CHICAGO—
Southside—Fri., Oct. 27, 8:30 p.m, 4745 So. Kimbark Av.
Northside—Sat., Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m., 930 Maple Av., Evanston

MINNEAPOLIS—Tues., Oct. 31 7:30 P.M. Andrews Hotel, 4th and Hennepin Av. GUARDIAN 13th Anniv. Party. Adm. 60c

SAN FRANCISCO—Fri., Nov. 3 ILWU HALL, 150 Golden Gate; Chmn: Vivian Hallinan. Adm. $1. 8:30 p.m.

OAKLAND—Sun., Nov. 5, 11 a.m. Church of the Fellowship, 411 28th St.

LOS ANGELES—Fri., Nov 10, Institute of Aerospace Sciences, 7660 Beverly Blvd. at Stanley. Adm. $1

DETROIT—Sun., Nov. 26, Jewish Music Center, 14864 Schaefer H'way. 7:30 p.m.

WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

He said this was so and further agreed that in essence the situation was that the Russians wanted to change the status, which they believed presented a growing threat to peace, but that the West regarded the proposed changes, and indeed any change, as affecting them adversely.

It seemed to me, I said, that the Allies would have to recognize the German Democratic Republic and the present frontiers of Germany, as well as the need, while preserving the freedom of West Berlin and its communications with the West, to put an end to spy activities conducted, mostly by Bonn and Washington, in West Berlin. There was also urgent need, I said, to stop the rearming of Germany and diminish the danger of incidents, by a policy of disarmament and disengagement.

But the Western governments had got themselves so much out on a limb on these issues that they equated ordinary give and take with "appeasement" and losing face. What were the ways of effecting the necessary changes that would be least hurtful to their pride and prestige and appeal most to Western public opinion?

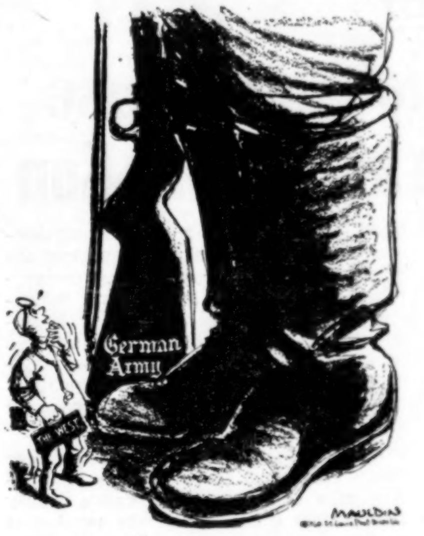
In this connection I recalled a passage in K's aide-memoire to President Kennedy after their Vienna talks in which he offered to join in international guarantees for the complete independence of West Berlin and its freedom of communications with the West, and suggested that the United Nations might take part in guaranteeing such a settlement and even in providing a garrison in West Berlin to see that the agreements were observed. The aide-memoire added that K. was prepared to consider any further or alternative measures the West proposed. A Soviet friend in Moscow had drawn my attention to this passage and said that the West had so far not taken notice of this hint at a further concession by the Soviet Union.

Therefore I asked K. whether he was prepared to follow up what he had said in this passage by agreeing to the stationing of one of the special organizations of the UN in West Berlin. This, I said, would go some way toward views expressed by one or two U. S. Senators and also widely advocated in Britain. The more the UN came into the picture, I suggested, the easier it would be for the West to approve any new arrangement.

MR K. SAID, "Certainly we would accept that. In fact, the Soviet Government would have no objection to transferring UN headquarters to Berlin. The more so as I suggested last year at the General Assembly that the UN headquarters ought to be transferred to some 'neutral' territory. At the time I suggested Vienna or some town in Switzerland. I should be perfectly willing to add Berlin to the list."

AT THIS POINT my colleague, Sir Leslie Plummer, also a left-wing Labor M.P., took a hand: "In the West it is often said," he observed, "that the Soviet Government is really hostile to the UN and wants to destroy it. Your proposal for a troika is adduced as a case in point. What do you say to that?"

"No," said K., "we attach the greatest importance to the UN as providing a code or set of treaty obligations acknowledged by both sides in the cold war and by the uncommitted nations as the basis for peaceful coexistence. We must make the UN work. But what we are not prepared to put up with any longer is the attempt of the Western powers to dominate the UN and use it as the instrument of their cold war policies. We are treated in the UN rather like a permanent opposition in Parliament. But we are one-third of the world. The Soviet Union is a world power on the same footing as the United States.



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Well, we certainly got you back on your feet!"

"In particular, the higher posts in the Secretariat are held to a disproportionate extent by Western nationals hailing from NATO countries. The Congo taught us that although there may be neutral countries, there are no neutral individuals, for the policy pursued there was loaded against not only us but those who stood for the freedom and unity of the Congo and the striking off of colonial chains."

(All this, of course, was before the death of Dag Hammarskjold as a result of the UN forces' acting on behalf of the Congo government against the Katanga separatist stooges of the Haute Union Miniere and its British, Belgian and French backers.)

Then K. developed the familiar arguments for three Secretaries General who would have to act in concert before decisions were taken.

I SAID THAT AS I had been an official of the League of Nations Secretariat for 19 years I spoke, as the Spaniards say, "out of the mouth of my wound" on this subject.

I said I realized the full weight of the Western objection that to introduce a political veto at the head of an international civil service could destroy it as an administration. I also knew that the Secretary General was not a free agent—he had to carry out instructions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, especially the latter, which was in continuous session. The General Assembly, I said, now reflected pretty accurately the actions of the world thanks to the influx of Afro-Asian members, which meant that the balance was now held by the uncommitted nations. K. said not yet, but that the General Assembly was well on the way to this state of affairs.

On the other hand, I continued, the Security Council is lopsided and dominated by the Western Powers, because the Americans have so far got away with keeping the People's Republic of China out of the permanent seat assigned to her under the Charter, by pretending that Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan regime represents "China."

SO FAR AS BRITAIN was concerned, I said, the whole Labor Party, the Liberals and more and more Conservatives were demanding that China take her seat on the Security Council. It was also Labor policy to demand that the UN be reformed to give full weight to the Afro-Asian and uncommitted nations generally. This might mean enlarging the Security Council, or a development of regional organizations of the UN, or both.

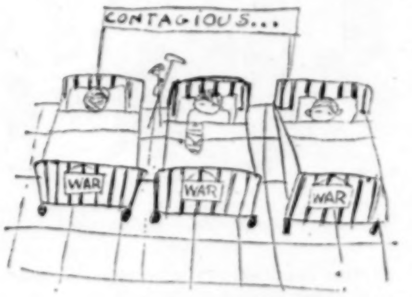
Reform would also mean giving a fair share of higher posts in the Secretariat to nationals from the uncommitted countries, and ending the artificial predominance of the West. Suppose, I said, in addition, an end were put to the practice by which the Secretary General ran his office through a small inner ring of personal assistants, and there was a return to the practice which obtained in the old League of Nations Secretariat, that the Secretary General, while retaining the ultimate right of decision, should habitually consult his deputies, who would be nationals of the three groups into which the world is now divided. Would all this meet the Soviet objections?

K. admitted it would go a long way toward doing so. But, he said, the Western Powers had broken the gentleman's agreement by which one of the socialist states was to be elected to one of the six temporary seats in the Security Council, and this would have to be put right, too. As for the Secretariat, he still argued for the troika principle.

He did concede, however, that the principle was intended to apply only when the Secretary General was exercising political functions (for example, bringing before the General Assembly or the Security Council a matter which he believed could endanger world peace, or dealing with disputes between members of the UN. It was not intended, he made it clear, to apply to the ordinary executive and administrative functions of the Secretariat.

FOUR WEEKS LATER I was at the East-West Round Table Conference in Rome, where these questions were discussed with a high-power group of Soviet deputies, including K.'s son-in-law and the editor of **Izvestia**, A. I. Adzhubei; A. E. Korneichuk, who is chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet, a member of the Supreme Soviet and of its Foreign Affairs Commission, as well as of the Central Committee of the party, and Ilya Ehrenburg. I got the impression—which has since been confirmed by the line taken by the Soviet Government at the General Assembly—that, in fact, the Soviet Government will be prepared to give up the troika principle in return for the Secretary General's becoming primus inter pares (the first among equals) and normally acting in concert with three deputies on the basis of consultation, but with the ultimate right to take his decisions alone, as he is entitled to do under the Charter.

On nuclear tests, the unanimous report of the Round Table Conference declared that "in order to relieve tension, clear the air and allay anxiety," it was "essential that the atomic powers should stop all nuclear tests again the moment the body charged with conducting disarmament negotiations first meets, and to do so for at least the duration of the negotiations." (Negotiations should, of course, end with the conclusion of a disarmament agreement permanently banning tests as part of the first stage in disarmament.)



Horizons, Paris

The line taken on Germany and Berlin in the Round Table report, that is, taken also by the Soviet participants in the conference, suggests that if Senator Fulbright's declaration in London at the end of September was an indication of the Administration's policy on these issues, there should not be any insuperable difficulty in negotiating an agreement. The Fulbright views would suggest giving the West satisfactory international guarantees for the freedom of West Berlin, and of access to it, with the participation of the UN, in return for some form of recognition of the German Democratic Republic, recognition of Germany's present frontiers, and disengagement which would create a nuclear-free zone of Germany and her eastern neighbors and would remove the danger of hostilities breaking out by accident. So far as Britain is concerned, there is overwhelming support in all parties for a settlement on those lines.

TO THE THRESHOLD OF COMMUNISM: BURCHETT'S STORY FROM MOSCOW

Soviet Party Congress blueprints the next two decades

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

THE RUSSIANS GATHER EAGERLY FOR A NEWS BROADCAST
The Draft Program was discussed on the radio, in the press and at meetings

ON OCT 17, ABOUT 4,500 delegates assembled in a brand-new conference hall within the Kremlin walls to take part in the Soviet Communist Party's 22nd Congress. They were to discuss, amend and finally approve two remarkable documents. One comprises the changed party statutes; the other sets up a 20-year economic and social program aimed to bring the Soviet people to the threshold of communism—that state of society when "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" becomes the guiding rule.

This is the biggest, and one of the most important, of all the party's congresses. It is the biggest, not only because of the growth of the party, but because of the high ratio of delegates to party membership—one delegate to every 2,000 members, compared to one to every 5,000 in the past. Total membership was 8,750,000 at the start of this year and is probably 9,000,000 now.

THE NEW TASK: The introduction to the new draft program recalls that the first program, adopted at the Bolshevik party's general congress in 1903, set as its principal task the overthrow of czarist autocracy and the establishment of a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The task was completed by the October, 1917, revolution. The second program, adopted at the eighth congress in 1919, approved Lenin's plan to build socialism. The 1961 introduction comments drily: "The second program of the Party has likewise been carried out." Now, after 42 years of building a socialist society, delegates are called on to approve the third program, "for the building of communist society."

Since the proposed new rules and program were published in August, there has been continuous discussion in the Soviet press. Pravda has devoted at least a full page daily to letters and comments. The proposals have been discussed at party meetings at all levels, including Communist party congresses in each of the 15 republics. Most of the press discussion has dealt with the economic and social program, with many favoring even higher goals. Little has been said about the changed party rules, indicating acceptance about as they are in the draft.

DICTATORSHIP ROLE: The rules changes are predicated on the view that the term "dictatorship' of the proletariat is no longer apt for the present stage of Soviet society. (What heresy this would have seemed a few short years ago!) ". . . The dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has ceased to be indispensable in the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of the tasks of internal development." In view of this a number of organs of state power—for managing economic and cultural affairs for a start—are now being transformed into organs of public self-administration, and this process will be gradually extended as the "withering away of the state" gathers tempo.

A vital rules change is that which limits the term of office in leading party positions from the Central Committee downward, with a stipulated proportion to be replaced at each election. This aims at injecting fresh, younger blood into the party leadership and avoiding concentrations of self-perpetuating power at the top.

Party congresses at which elections to top leadership take place must be held every four years. They have been held ever more frequently since the death of Stalin. The 18th was 1939; the 19th in 1952; the 20th in 1956; the 21st in 1959 and now the 22nd. One quarter of members of the Central Committee and its presidium must step down at each election and no member may serve more than three terms. Exceptions may be made for "particular party officials by virtue of their generally recognized prestige" but in this case they must obtain a 75% vote in a secret ballot. At republic and regional committee levels, one-third of the members of leading party organs must step down at each election and no one may serve more than two consecutive terms. No one may be removed from the Central Committee at any level except by a two-thirds secret vote of all CC members at that level.

ECONOMIC GOALS: In that part dealing with economic-social tasks, the program says: "In the current decade (1961-70) the Soviet Union will . . . surpass the strongest and richest capitalist country, the U.S., in production per head of population. . . . Everyone will live in easy circumstances. . . The demand for well-appointed housing will in the main be satisfied; hard physical work will disappear; the U.S.S.R. will have the shortest working day.

"In the next decade (1971-80) the material and technical basis of communism will be created and there will be an abundance of material and cultural benefits for the whole population. Soviet society will come close to a stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs and there will be a gradual transition to one form of ownership—public ownership. Thus a communist society will be fully completed in the subsequent period."

To attain the first stage—by the end of 1970—the aim is set at increasing industrial output 150%, outstripping the present level of U.S. production. For 1980 the total increase is set at 500%, "leaving the present overall volume of U.S. industrial output far behind." The target for labor productivity is set at a 300%-350% increase, double the present U.S. level per worker but much more in per-hour output due to the proposed reduction of the working week in the U.S.S.R.

QUOTAS SET: Steel production, with a 1965 goal of 86-91 million tons, is set at 250 million tons by 1980; electric production, scheduled to reach 500-520 billion kilowatt hours a year by 1965, is fixed at 900-1,000 billion by 1970 and 2,700-3,000 billion by 1980. Advances in agricultural production are set at a 150% increase by 1970 and a 250% increase by 1980, with a more rapid increase in labor productivity on the part of farm workers than those in industry.

In a concrete way, the program related rising living standards to the leaps in production. Within ten years a working week of 34-36 hours would be introduced, with 30 hours for those in underground or harmful occupations. Hours would be cut further in the second decade. Night shifts would gradually be abolished where possible.

Real incomes of factory and office workers would be doubled in the next ten years, with priority benefits for the low-paid brackets. Collective farmers' incomes are set at four times present levels by 1980. The term "real income" includes free services from what are called the "public consumption funds" and by 1980 these would include housing, gas, heating and water; public transport on trolleys, buses, subways and trams; accommodation at sanatoriums, medical service and medicines, meals at factories, offices and collective forms; meals for school children; maintenance of children at boarding schools, school uniforms, etc.

PAID LEAVES: Minimum paid leave for all workers except collective farmers would be brought up to three weeks (which most have now) and then extended to one month, while a system of paid holidays for collective farmers would be introduced. (At present collective farms finance pensions and paid holidays from their own common funds.)

The program aim is stated as: "Achieving in the Soviet Union a living standard higher than that of any of the capitalist countries" by raising money wages, cutting retail prices, abolishing taxes and increasing services from the public consumption funds.

It was pointed that even if average incomes only equal those of the most advanced countries, Soviet people "will be more prosperous . . . because the national income is distributed fairly among the members of society and there are no parasitical classes, as in the bourgeois countries, that appropriate and squander immense wealth taken away from the millions of working people."

A section dealing with bureaucratic administration declares: "The Soviet government apparatus must be simple, qualified, inexpensive, efficient and free of bureaucracy, formalism and red tape . . . An effort should be made to ensure that the salaried government staffs are reduced, that ever larger sections of the people learn to take part in administration and that work on government staffs eventually ceases to constitute a profession . . ."

WORLD ROLE: The part of the program dealing with communism's role in the world affairs is based mainly on the Declaration of the 81 Communist parties adopted in Moscow last December. It repeats that "the issue of war and peace is the principal issue of today" and that "the main thing is to ward off a thermonuclear war."

The place of the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc in world affairs by 1980 is not dealt with in the draft program, but there was a revealing article in a recent issue of **Kommunist** by S. Strumilin, entitled "The World 20 Years Later." He predicted population changes; differing tempos of industrial production; moves into the socialist camp by underdeveloped countries and other developments with the balance decisively in favor of the socialist world. Even with the present line-up of nations, Strumilin wrote, by 1970 the socialist states would produce more than 50% of total world industrial output, "while the share of the imperialist camp as a whole will be cut by about half." (Because of the rapid growth of industrial production in the "less developed countries with the active assistance of the U.S.S.R.")

It was noted in the press here that Western observers show little tendency to jeer at the Soviet target figures, as they used to in the past. There is a tremendous feeling of confidence here that the Soviet Union is on the verge of a major economic breakthrough, and that communism is "just around the corner."

A communist code

The Draft Program of the Soviet Communist Party outlines a "moral code of the builders of communism." The goals include:

- Collectivism and comradely assistance.
- Honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty and unpretentiousness in social and private life.
- Friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the U.S.S.R.; intolerance of national and racial hatred.
- Fraternal solidarity with the working peoples of all countries.

Wesley speaks on peace in Philadelphia Oct. 21

DAVID WESLEY, editorial page editor of the York **Gazette and Daily,** will speak on "The Politics of Peace" Sat. eve., Oct. 21, in Philadelphia. The meeting will be held at the Trybutoks, 516 East Mt. Airy Ave., near Stanton, and is sponsored by Philadelphia friends of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Refreshments will be served.

A report from Moscow

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN such as W. G. Burchett's article on the Soviet Communist Party's 22d Congress, on this page, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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THE GOAL: RECREATION OPEN TO ALL

Sports socialist style-- Cubans going all-out

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

LAST APRIL Havana's Sports City Stadium was being used as temporary parking space for the 1,200 U.S.-trained invaders captured at Playa Giron. Today the arena teams with young Cubans practicing a dozen sports at once, while a chess tournament proceeds around the main corridor. Thus another element of Cuba's socialist plan is going full steam ahead, at the headquarters of INDER—the National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation.

In an office upstairs works the former mayor of Havana, José Llanusa, now charged with bringing recreation facilities within reach of every Cuban. An Olympic basketball player in 1948, he is a sturdy man with unruly hair and a breezy smile. Three years ago he was in a Batista jail for underground activities. Now he leans back and tosses a baseball in the air as he holds forth on the sports revolution.

Llanusa calls sports "the last refuge of imperialism in Cuba." In the past, children of poor families participated only in baseball and boxing, sports that were sources of profit to promoters. Young ballplayers were signed up as "cheap raw material" at $200 or less a month, sometimes at $50. The cream of both the "performers" and the cash was skimmed off by the U.S., where some boxers such as Kid Chocolate and Gavilan made big money for a time, but often ended on relief. The lion's share went to promoters. On the anniversary of the Havana Declaration against "exploitation of man by man," Llanusa suspended the promoters' licenses and placed all professional sport under INDER.

MEANS TO HEALTH: Llanusa blasts Havana newspapers which continue to feature "horses, dogs and professional stars" on their sports pages; for him this "smells of counterrevolution." He insists "sport should be a means, not an end." INDER's object is to create a healthy citizenship. It is "not mainly concerned with championships," but is nonetheless determined to raise Cuba's standing in the Central American Games in Jamaica next year. (Cuba now places fifth behind Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Mexico and the West Indies. Puerto Rican athletes get scholarships in the U.S., and U.S. experts help train athletes in Guatemala and other countries.)

At the Pan American Games in Brazil in 1963, revolutionary Cuba will compete for the first time against the U.S.; in 1964 it will participate in the Olympics in Tokyo. "We have no chance in those," says Llanusa, "but as we shall now be drawing from the whole nation, who knows what gold we might not strike?"

A BIT OF EXCITEMENT AT A SWIMMING CONTEST
In Batista days the pools were closed to most kids

In most sports, Llanusa said, "we start from zero." The quality of Cuba's first mass gymnastic displays, by 25,000 youths and girls on May 1 and by 75,000 on July 26, was necessarily low. In rowing—a sport once reserved for sons of the white wealthy—a promising start was made in the regatta in which 12 worker and peasant crews recently competed offshore at Havana. All records of the old "[illegible]" crews were smashed by the "fishermen." The worst backwardness is in swimming, in large part due to former discrimination at pools and beaches. Although most Cubans live within a few miles of the sea, less than 10% can swim.

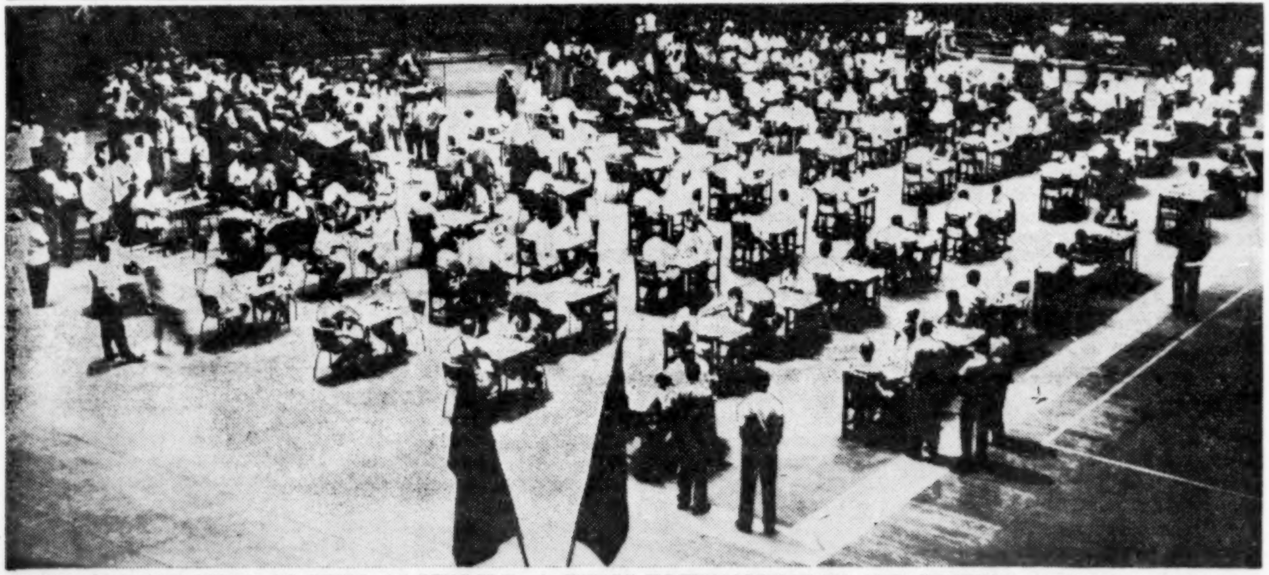
OPEN TO ALL: Under the INDER program, sports grounds and equipment will be available for all community groups. Special stress will be placed on attracting peasants, workers and women. The island has been divided into regions, and the program will cover 6,000 volunteer sports councils in communities, factories and farms. Trade unions will not participate as such, because "this excludes too many people." There will be INDER divisions for track, swimming and gymnastics; softball, volleyball, basketball, soccer and water polo; weightlifting, judo, wrestling, boxing, cycling and fencing; chess, archery, skittles, hunting, skating, tennis, ping-pong and polo, etc.; rowing; and baseball, which remains Cuba's favorite sport. For the second half of 1961 INDER has a $2,800,000 government budget.

INDER is placing emphasis now on physical development, rather than team sports—on track, swimming, gymnastics, etc., which, Llanusa says, are "preparation sports for the others."

The heart of INDER's long-range program is a sports instructors' course in Havana. More than 2,000 youngsters—95% from the interior—will be graduated in April, to return to their communities. They will be full-time paid workers, and there will also be several hundred on part time. Present instructors include Republican Spaniards, Argentines and Uruguayans. There will be short courses under soccer instructors from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Brazil and the U.S.S.R. Czech champion Zatopek is coming in October to train sprinters.

BASEBALL MACHINE: Some sports equipment has come from the U.S.S.R., but the need is enormous. More and more equipment is being produced in Cuba. A Cuban worker has invented a machine for making baseballs, and he and his brother are turning out 1,000 a day of a quality said to equal the U.S. make.

INDER's big project for this fall is the LPV ("Listos Para Vencer"—Ready to Win) campaign, in which it will seek to involve the whole population. In five age brackets citizens, after 20 evenings' workout in stadiums, will undergo tests in gymnastics, broad jumping, climbing rope, 50-meter dash, kilometer run, and swimming.



EXERCISE FOR MIND AS WELL AS MUSCLE: A CHESS TOURNAMENT IN ONE SECTION OF THE STADIUM
The program covers everything from ping-pong to weightlifting, from skittles to polo

THE EMPHASIS NOW IS ON PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT, NOT TEAM SPORTS
These school girls limber up in a drill with wands, at Playa Giron, the invasion site

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The newest wrinkle

TWO MEN who said they were former Cuban police lieutenants were captured yesterday after they allegedly had taken $2,200 in the robbery of a Fiftieth Street restaurant. They later told the police they were trying to raise funds to fight Fidel Castro.

—New York **Times**, Oct. 14

First U.S. socialist baby for Western Hemisphere

HAVANA

BORN HERE on Sept. 2: The first all-U.S. boy to see the light under socialism in the Western Hemisphere — Karl Alexander Garcia.

The parents, who came to Cuba in July, are the former Judith Howell, 20, daughter of a Denver businessman, and Joseph Garcia, 33, former high school teacher at Berkeley, Calif. Both are U.S.-born, the mother being of Anglo-Saxon, the father of mixed Mexican and Apache Indian descent. Garcia works at the National Institute of Sports.

Possessing dual citizenship in capitalist U.S. and socialist Cuba, Karl Alexander presumably will have to choose between the countries around 1982.

ELECTION SETBACK TO BEN-GURION'S PARTY INDICATES CHANGES

New political winds are stirring in Israel

Following is the second of three articles on Israel by the GUARDIAN's foreign affairs editor, who has recently returned from that country.

By Kumar Goshal

WHEN I ARRIVED in Israel at the end of August, the hottest topic of conversation still was the Aug. 15 general elections. Everyone was trying to assess the significance of the loss of several Knesset (Parliament) seats by Premier David Ben-Gurion's dominant Mapai Party.

Last January, while his government had two more years to run, Ben-Gurion resigned; his coalition government fell and new elections were called. The most powerful political personality in Israel, Ben-Gurion had resigned several times since the establishment of the state. His strategy: To face new elections to obtain endorsement of his policies. His latest resignation came in the uproar provoked by the Lavon Affair.

The full story of the Lavon Affair has never been told. It is generally believed that in 1954, when Moshe Sharett was Premier and Pinhas Lavon had replaced Ben-Gurion as Defense Minister, an important Israeli espionage operation in Egypt failed dismally. Early in 1955 Lavon resigned under a cloud and Ben-Gurion returned as Defense Minister and later became Premier.

FORGERY CHARGED: Last year, in the course of an army investigation into another matter, it appeared that a high-ranking army officer who had served during Lavon's ministry had been involved in the forging of documents which placed the blame for the espionage failure on Lavon's shoulders. Lavon demanded that his name be cleared.

The Knesset Security and Foreign Affairs Committee and a government-appointed military-judicial committee, after hearing testimony from various sources, indicated that Lavon was innocent. Sharett announced he would not have asked for Lavon's resignation if in 1955 he had been aware of the facts revealed.

PREMIER BEN-GURION (second from left) AT A YOUTH RALLY
His Mapai Party is being hard pressed by a coalition of foes

But Ben-Gurion persisted in demanding a "judicial investigation." Last Dec. 25 a government-appointed Ministerial Committee of seven representatives of the coalition parties unanimously declared Lavon innocent.

Ben-Gurion then moved his attack on Lavon to the Histadrut—the Israeli workers' federation—of which Lavon was the general secretary. He sought Lavon's ouster as the head of the Histadrut. Most Histadrut members belong to the Premier's Mapai Party, Israel's largest. But Mapai opinion was divided on the Lavon issue. On Jan. 31, 1961, Ben-Gurion resigned as Premier. Thus he could bide his time and exert pressure on his party as "the irreplaceable leader" while he continued to head the caretaker government until the election. The strategy worked. Mapai came to heel. Lavon resigned as secretary of the Histadrut.

BEHIND THE ATTACK: Before I went to Israel, it was never clear to me why Ben-Gurion had so relentlessly gone after Lavon's scalp, and why the Left came to Lavon's support. Lavon was known to be as conservative as his opponent. From many left-wing leaders in Israel I gathered that Lavon, seeing his Mapai friends succumbing to Ben-Gurion's pressure, had become alarmed as he sensed the dangers inherent in the increasingly dictatorial tendencies of Mapai under the Premier's leadership. The left-wing leaders, in turn, felt that the attack on Lavon was really aimed at Histadrut which, together with the kibbutzim (collective settlements), forms the solid base of democracy in Israel.

As the parties prepared for this year's election campaign, the Mapam Party (left socialist) attempted to persuade the Achdut Avoda party to put up a joint slate of candidates. Both parties (and the Communist Party) advocate neutralism, elimination of military government over the Israeli Arabs and full equality for the Arabs. Both have noted with dismay the increasing tendency of Ben-Gurion and his military supporters to embark on such dangerous adventures as the arms deal with West Germany without consulting the government, even after the failure of the similarly secret 1954 espionage venture. Besides, Achdut Avoda once was a part of Mapam.

Mapam believed a joint slate with Achdut Avoda would give the electorate a genuine alternative to Mapai, and attract Mapai members who were also disturbed by Ben-Gurion's high-handed manner, but who gave in to the Premier's pressure because they considered the other parties too small to offer a real alternative.

But Achdut Avoda turned the offer down. It hoped that Mapai dissidents—and others who lacked confidence in Ben-Gurion's ability to lead Israel to real democracy—would line up behind its own candidates.

LEFT GAIN: The bitterly fought elections did not live up to Achdut Avoda's hopes. It obtained eight seats in the 120-member Knesset, a gain of one. Mapam retained its nine seats. The far right Herut Party also kept its 17 seats. But the Liberals increased their representation from 14 to 17 and the Communists from three to five, demonstrating where the not-too-numerous dissident votes went.

Mapai lost six seats, including one of its five Arab seats. Its representation fell from 52 to 46, despite its prestige as leader of the caretaker government, its power in the Histadrut, its domination over the Arab voters through the military government and its influence over the Jewish immigrants from Africa.

How significant a setback Mapai has suffered will be revealed when the concessions it makes to form a coalition government are made known. The Liberals (a coalition of conservative Zionists and middle-of-the-roaders) the National Religious Party, Achdut Avoda and Mapam have formed a bloc for coalition negotiations with Mapai. These four belonged to the previous coalition government; but this time, with a combined total of 46 seats, equal that of Mapai, they are demanding, among other things, parity in the Cabinet instead of a Mapai majority, as in the past; civilian control of the Defense Ministry; and renunciation of government "adventures" undertaken without consultation. Ben-Gurion has refused to negotiate under these terms and has delegated Finance Minister Levi Eshkol to talk to the four-party bloc.

CHANGES HINTED: Some prospects of change are on the political horizon in Israel. During the election campaign, World Zionist Organization President Dr. Nahum Goldman campaigned for the Liberal Party and pleaded for neutralism, despite raised eyebrows over an American citizen taking part in a foreign election and the presence in the Liberal Party of such Zionist activists as former General Zionist leader Peretz Bernstein.

Sharett is known to favor parity in the Cabinet instead of a Mapai majority. Aharon Kidan of the Bank of Israel is worried by Mapai's deification of its leader and by the undemocratic decisions. The increase in the Arab votes for the Communists has emboldened the Mapai-affiliated Arabs to oppose the pending discriminatory Agricultural Lands Bill which they had earlier supported under pressure.

Until the structure of the new government is disclosed, however, it will be difficult to say how much change actually will occur in Israel.

Martin Luther King to talk at Columbia U. Oct. 27

THE COLUMBIA OWL, newspaper of the School of General Studies, Columbia University, will present "An Evening With Martin Luther King Jr." at 8:15 o'clock Friday, Oct. 27, in McMillin Theater on the Morningside campus. Other speakers will be a Columbia University Freedom Rider and Rep. William Fitts Ryan of Manhattan.

There will be entertainment by comedian Orson Bean, folksinger Cynthia Gooding, and George Tipton with the Journeymen. Tickets are available at $2 and $3 at the General Studies Lounge on the campus, and at the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 312 W. 125th St., New York 27, N.Y.

Mrs. Mallory arrested in Monroe race case

MRS. MAY MALLORY, Negro civil rights fighter who has been in hiding since she was indicted on a kidnaping charge in Monroe, N.C., was arrested at the home of a relative in Cleveland at 1 a.m. Oct. 13.

Mrs. Mallory's bail, set at $750, was being raised by the Monroe Defense Committee, 53 W. 125 St. An extradition hearing was scheduled Oct. 27.

Mrs. Mallory, whose home is in New York, was in Monroe Aug. 27-28 during outbreaks of racial violence. Subsequently Mrs. Mallory, Robert Williams and three others were indicted on a charge of kidnaping a white couple. Williams, who has denied the charge, is in Cuba. Those scheduled to be tried on Oct. 30 for kidnaping are: Richard Crowder, Harold Reap and John Lowery.

U.S. foreign policy—a study in national frustration

The following is excerpted from an editorial entitled "The Frustrating Years" which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch *of Aug. 13, 1961.*

THE CUBAN INVASION was a fiasco for the United States. Laos represents a partial retreat from an unwise position. Berlin offers new anxiety. Soviet astronauts are almost enough to cause an inferiority complex.

In politics, however, when a reaction becomes merely reactionary, it cannot be realistic. The year in which the events above occurred also produced a resurgence of extremist groups at home. They see a Communist plot behind every national deficiency. The infection of blindness seems to intrude on Congress, where Senator Goldwater has been talking of "total victory" without even defining it.

These are reactions of one order to national frustrations. Americans may well wonder what the reactions will be in the decade ahead. For this will be a decade in which America will be no more able than it is now either to retreat from the world, or to make the world over in its own image.

How will Americans react? Some may react with what Adlai Stevenson terms "the three great distempers of the public mind—reaction, complacency and mediocrity."

There is, of course, a way to avoid reactionary distempers. The manner of doing it requires a liberal understanding of the world and a conservative respect for our own institutions. We can, for example, recognize that other nations will not freely do as they are told, but only what they think best for themselves. We can cling to international law as stubbornly as we cling to our own rights. We can reject suspicion of conspiracies at home and concentrate on proper defense against the real threat abroad; at the same time we can avoid automatic response to Communist pressures and devise policies to meet them.

We need not be disconcerted by nationalism, neutralism or socialism; they are not enemies. We can participate hardily in the space race in the recognition that victories are not won without risk of defeats. We can compete in the development of underdeveloped regions without expecting foreign aid to buy loyalties. And in a fissionable world we can stop talking of total victory and consider the fact of co-existence.

Nations, no more than men, can retreat from crisis into the womb of history. The Fortress America concept amounts, in this world, to a catatonic state. Fighting Communism at home as a way to fight Communism's threat elsewhere indicates a split personality. Intervening in Cuba while offering no practical solutions to the arms race or the German problem combines delusions of grandeur with static fits of depression.

The frustrations ahead can only be met constructively with calm analysis, however unpleasant they may be. There is no other basis for making sound national decisions.

WITCH-HUNTERS JOIN AFL-CIO AND JURY IN ASSAULTS

Hoffa beleaguered on 4 fronts, fights back

By Robert E. Light

IN HIS WAR against the Establishment, Teamster President James R. Hoffa was subjected to four new assaults within a month. He took on all comers and in the continuing battle, seems likely to give more than he takes.

These things happened to Hoffa and the Teamsters in 30 days:

- On Sept. 19, just before the Senate recessed, Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) introduced a bill to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust law to make it unlawful for any union to strike in concert with another union, including a sister local of the same international, if the walkout would decrease transportation services.
- A grand jury in Orlando, Fla., re-indicted Hoffa on charges of misusing union funds in a real estate promotion scheme. A similar indictment was thrown out last July on grounds the jury had been improperly chosen.
- Hoffa testified before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee Oct. 13 about a mutual aid agreement the Teamsters signed recently with the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, a union forced out of the CIO in 1949 in a witchhunt.
- The AFL-CIO executive council voted Oct. 11 to grant federation charters to dissident Teamster locals. If enough locals can be weaned from the Teamsters, the federation will probably form a rival trucker's union. Failing this, the rebel locals remain under the federation's protection.

SHARP REPLY: In introducing his bill, McClellan pointed with alarm to the alliance between the Teamsters and the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges. He called Bridges "one of the top Communists in the U.S."

Hoffa ansewered in the **International Teamster:** "If Sen. McClellan represented the people of Arkansas as well as Bridges represents the members of his union, citizens of Arkansas would not be working for wages as low as 30 cents an hour."

Hoffa ridiculed the red charges. The Teamsters, he said, had as much communism as the Catholic Church. He said that McClellan ("a faker") and Mississippi Sen. James Eastland, chairman of the Internal Security subcommittee, ("a traitor") were trying to intimidate him because "I have a strong and militant union."

SHARP EXCHANGE: At the hearing Hoffa affirmed his belief in "labor solidarity" and said he would make an alliance with "any organization that protects the workers." To Eastland's declaration that "communists control the longshoremen" and the Mine-Mill's leaders "are communists beyond any reasonable doubt," Hoffa said he would not prejudge anyone—"I've been through that routine myself."

He added that he had a right to "meet with anyone, whether it be Harry Bridges or Senator McClellan, to make a comparison."

"I suggest you make some other comparison," McClellan snapped. Hoffa rejoined: "I think Harry Bridges is trying to help the American labor movement and you are trying to hurt it."

With some relish, Hoffa reported to Eastland and McClellan that he would rather spend Teamster funds to organize workers in the South than to fight Bridges. Asked whether he and Bridges were trying to arrange simultaneous contract expiration dates to facilitate joint negotiations, Hoffa answered: "We're not trying—we already did it."

FOR CONVENIENCE: Hoffa admitted that the Teamsters had underwritten a $100,000 loan to Mine-Mill to replenish its strike fund. He said his relations with Mine-Mill and the West Coast Longshoremen were "for convenience," much as the U.S. deals with the Soviet Union. For himself, he testified: "Hoffa was not a Communist, has not associated with Communists, is not a Communist, and never intends to be."

JAMES R. HOFFA (R.) AND HIS LAWYER, EDWARD B. WILLIAMS

At Senate hearings Oct. 13 Hoffa defended his union alliances

Two Mine-Mill officers and two staff members also testified. Research director Bernard W. Stern said he is not a Communist and invoked the Fifth Amendment on further questions. Albert S. Skinner, vice president; Irving Dichter, secretary-treasurer, and Harold Sanderson, comptroller, were excused after their attorney protested that questioning would prejudice their appeal from conviction of conspiracy to file false Taft-Hartley non-communist oaths. All four were ordered to return Nov. 6.

McClellan concluded that there ought to be a law against union alliances which could wield "lethal and monopolistic power." Hoffa prescribed "labor unity" as an answer to anti-union attacks from Congress.

QUILL BACKING: Hoffa got a confirming opinion from Michael Quill, president of the AFL-CIO Transport Workers. Quill told his union's convention in New York Oct. 1 that "the united labor movement was set up to organize the unorganized, but it has only succeeded in disorganizing the organized."

The convention voted for the Teamsters' readmission into the AFL-CIO. Quill pointed out that Hoffa has withstood scrutiny from the Labor and Justice departments, Congress and the courts. Hoffa, he said, "is the cleanest man in the United States."

At Quill's request Hoffa spoke to the convention. He said his union was under attack because of its militancy. He predicted the Teamsters would rejoin the AFL-CIO, but said: "We will return with our heads high." He said unions must face up to three major problems: (1) automation; (2) caring for the aged, and (3) "what are we going to do about the miserable mistake of dividing the labor movement in America?"

Quill moved on the third question immediately. On Oct. 9 he proposed the readmission of the Teamsters to the AFL-CIO executive board, composed of leaders of all affiliated unions. Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, had an alternate plan to charter a rival union to the Teamsters. AFL-CIO president George Meany referred the matter to the federation's executive council session Oct. 10-12.

COUNCIL FIRM: The council rejected Quill's motion—Maritime president Joseph Curran and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters, voted in favor—and instead adopted Meany's plan to charter individual locals. Hoffa's reaction to the council's rejection was: "Who asked 'em?" To Meany's charge that the Teamster leadership was corrupt and his advice that Hoffa emulate "Saul of Tarsus; go into the wilderness for a year and repent," Hoffa promised a $1,000,000 suit for libel and slander.

The council's decision to take in Teamster dissidents broke a four-year truce. Despite prodding by Beirne and James Carey of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, Meany had been wary of a test of strength with Hoffa.

If Meany plans an all-out war, he may find that Hoffa has the heavier weapons. In addition to Quill and Curran, the Teamsters have the open support of William McFetridge of the Building Service Union. Auto Workers president Walter Reuther and Hoffa have had kind words for each other recently and Reuther, who was not at the council meeting, declared against establishing a rival union.

Locally, many unions and state federations maintain close relations with the Teamsters despite the official ban. In recent weeks the San Francisco Labor Fedn., Local 65 of the Retail and Distributive Workers, the Iowa State Fedn. and the Detroit Building Trades Council voted for the Teamsters' readmission. Quill said that if the issue were put to a referendum, the Teamsters would be taken back.

ROLE IN STRIKES: Many unions have learned that the Teamsters are a valuable ally. Chances of winning a strike are much greater if truck drivers refuse to move the company's merchandise.

With a sizable treasury, many organizers and a vigor noticeably absent in the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters might well retaliate with raids on AFL-CIO unions. At the Teamster convention in July, Hoffa said he would move into jurisdictions where AFL-CIO unions were not aggressively organizing.

Meany said he had applications for affiliation from 100 different Teamster locals. Recently in Cincinnati four Teamster locals broke away with support and encouragement from Meany and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who appointed the dissident leader's brother as Federal district attorney the same week the locals seceded.

There are other dissatisfied locals that the AFL-CIO might win, but not even Meany would predict a mass disaffection. In most areas, Teamster wages and conditions are far better than those in AFL-CIO contracts. And with the AFL-CIO's apparent acceptance of President Kennedy's "anti-inflation" wage policy, the gap promises to widen.

NO PROGRAMS: Although labor's problems are legion and the AFL-CIO biennial convention is only two months away, the board and council meetings were drab and depressing. There were no programs for automation, lingering unemployment and shrinking membership. (See the Randolph story, p. 10.)

Meany said there was "a little progress" in the craft vs. industrial union jurisdictional war. But after six years, the continuing hostility threatens to split the federation.

The council, evaluating the Congress session, called it a "qualified success," But despite the attempt to be gentle with the Kennedy Administration, it was clear that labor had made few advances in Washington since January.

Personal animosities were in open display. Meany referred with a sneer to Quill as "the bold Michael." Quill said, "Mr. Meany, of course, is an honest man—he says so himself."

Quill also accused Beirne of "building himself for the presidency of the AFL-CIO when and if Meany retires." Asked what he thought of Beirne's thinking, Curran said he doubted that Beirne "was thinking very often."

On the other hand, Curran said that though he might not agree with the West Coast leader's politics, "Harry Bridges has a reputation in unionism that is second to none."

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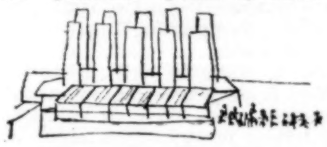
BOOKS

Re the U.S.S.R.

WITH THE Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in session and the Berlin crisis as the world's most important problem of the moment, two timely books* have appeared which give Americans a better understanding both of how the Soviet economy functions and of the reasons behind the Soviet position on Berlin.

The first consists mainly of an interview with Anastas Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of the U.S.S.R., by the American economist, Victor Perlo. This meeting, in Moscow on Aug. 1, 1960, provides background material for the Draft Program of the CPSU, issued earlier this year, and for the party Congress.

In the interchange, which Perlo correctly considers the most authoritative interview concerning Soviet planning and economic questions obtained by an American since that country's decentralization and reorganization of planning, Mikoyan discusses the significance of these planning changes, the problems posed by some of the shortcomings in the economy, wages and incentives, and the prospects of improved Soviet-American economic relations.



PERLO INTERSPERSES his own background material, which is of great help to the reader not too well acquainted with the functioning of the Soviet economy. This makes the book a great deal more interesting than if it had consisted merely of questions and answers.

Another feature is the frank discussion between Perlo and Mikoyan of some of the Soviet economy's shortcomings. Perlo, for instance, complained of the black market activities he encountered. Mikoyan replied:

"But harsh measures will not do. We cannot 'crack down.' We have our legal standards. But we must not ignore this. We must find ways of dealing with the question effectively, and according to law."

While Perlo does not gloss over the shortcomings, he points out they are minor compared to the tremendous strength of the economy as a whole. His approach is thus much more balanced than that of most American "experts" on the Soviet Union, who distort every weakness beyond all semblance of reality.

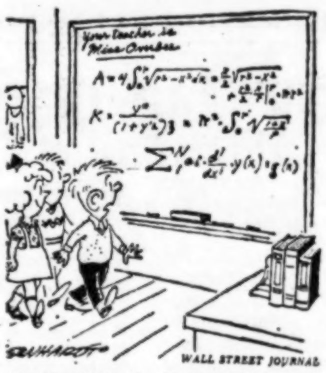
One wishes Perlo had provided even more background material. A chart showing the difference between the old and new planning systems would have been helpful, as would have been a more detailed discussion of the manner in which wages are set.

THE SECOND book is a compilation of Soviet documents on the Berlin question issued between June 3 and Aug. 21, 1961. Included are the memorandum Premier Khrushchev submitted to President Kennedy in Vienna, several speeches by Khrushchev, the Soviet Government's reply to the U.S. note protesting the Berlin border closing, and a letter from Khrushchev to the American people.

Though Khrushchev wrote this letter to the American people on Aug. 21, 1961, it was largely ignored by the American press. Writing in response to a request by the editors of Crosscurrents Press, Khrushchev emphasizes his desire to solve the Berlin question peacefully.

"We are striving for only one thing: For peace, peace, and only peace," he wrote.

Khrushchev pointed out that the U.S.S.R. is threatening neither the freedom of the West Berliners to live under any social system they desire nor the access routes to West Berlin. On the contrary, it is willing to guarantee both in a peace treaty, he said.



Bernhardt in the Wall Street Journal
"Holy smoke — look what the Russians have done to us!"

REFERRING TO the growing militarization of West Germany and to the demands of the German government for nuclear weapons, Khrushchev stated that the Soviet Union must sign a peace treaty now, recognizing the existing boundaries of Germany, thereby depriving the revanchists of any pretensions to the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

"When West Germany refuses to conclude peace, refuses to recognize the borders which have taken place as a result of the war and is again planning an attack on its neighbors, a further delay in signing a peace treaty is tantamount to encouraging the idea of revenge," he argued.

Noting that the West Berlin leaders referred to their city as "the cheapest atom bomb planted in the center of a socialist state," he said the city could provide the spark for a worldwide conflagration unless it was neutralized under the protection of either the Big Four (U.S., Britain, France and U.S.S.R.) or the UN.

New York **Time's** writer James Reston, in a column written early in September, urged the U.S. government to give Khruschev's letter careful attention, declaring that it could provide the basis for negotiations. Along with the other documents in the book, it should certainly be brought to the attention of both the U.S. government and the entire American people. It is an excellent antidote to the war psychosis.

—Ed Sears

**HOW THE SOVIET ECONOMY WORKS. An Interview With A. I. Mikoyan, by Victor Perlo. International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. So., N. Y., 64 pp. $1.50 cloth, 75c paper.*

***THE SOVIET STAND ON GERMANY: 9 Key Documents Including Diplomatic Papers and Major Speeches by N. S. Khrushchev. Crosscurrents Press, 156 5th Ave., N.Y. 10, N.Y. 157 pp. $1 paper.*

A PUERTO RICAN REPORTS ON N.Y.

Life sketches

GENUINE is the word for Jesus Colon's first published book, **A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches.*** In it followers of his column in the **Worker** will find well-remembered gems, along with reprints from **Mainstream** and some previously unpublished work.

Born in Puerto Rico, Colon looks back on almost 60 turbulent years of hard work, labor organizing, polemics; then journalistic writing, in Spanish and English; and more organizing, in political and cultural fields. The sketches in this book draw deeply on his long, colorful life and the impact on him of what he saw. In a foreword he describes them as "a modest attempt . . . through the medium of personal experience to throw a little light on how Puerto Ricans in this city **really** feel, think, and live."

The sketches are mostly short; only five of them run to more than five pages, and a few to less than a page. Written at various times, they show nothing like continuity or even plan; nevertheless, together in one volume, they form a picture of sorts. This is particularly true of 17 which are close to the author's personal experience. The rest of the 30 are historical, biographical or humorous essays.

FROM THE 17, taken as a whole, there emerges a keen presentation of New York life as it appears to one Puerto Rican. A few sketches supply background on the home island; then the vessel on which the young man stowed away to get to New York; then hard work, unaccustomed cold weather, unemployment. Colon has the power of making the reader see and feel the way it was on the docks in a time of war.

The boy who stowed away developed gradually into the resilient, wary, modest, warm-hearted personality through which all this experience is now transmuted and given back. Poverty, exploitation and discrimination neither defeated nor embittered him. A vibrant sense of humor sustained him. Marxism, of which he first heard in the strong, clear voice of a cigarmakers' reader coming through an open window when he was a child in Puerto Rico, showed the way out.

Through the sketches move various people, many Puerto Ricans, a few others: Jose, the musical genius who never got around to copyrighting his work until it was pirated by Tin Pan Alley; the lady who was lost, and could only remember that she lived near a park where there was a statue of a man on a horse; Carmencita, the mother-in-law, who almost didn't stay because there was no picture of a saint in the house; Marcelino, the sailor; Sarah, the music-lover—all appear in these swift-moving, sharp vignettes.

BESIDES THESE SKETCHES based on personal experience, there are the 13 others in various moods. A few deal with aspects of Latin American history, people and culture. In others, the author mounts a brief soapbox; some such as "Books That Never Get Returned" and "On Singing in the Shower," are purely for relaxation. Some are well done and some, perhaps, should have been omitted. Almost anybody might have written them. But as for the 17, they could have come only from the pen of Jesus Colon.

—Ruth Mahoney.

**A PUERTO RICAN IN NEW YORK and Other Sketches, by Jesus Colon. Mainstream Publishers, 832 Broadway, N.Y. 3, N.Y. 202 pp. $3.*

BOOKS

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Three weeks before FREEDOM: PROMISE AND MENACE was published we sent review copies to more than thirty papers and magazines, including the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. The MONITOR carries a literary section, weekly, in two editions. On September 23 we mailed them the advertising copy below, requesting display ads in both editions.

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RANDOLPH CENSURED FOR ATTACK ON DISCRIMINATION IN UNIONS

AFL-CIO puts an 'Okay' tag on jimcrow

JIMCROW'S LEASE to residence in the House of Labor was renewed for an indefinite period Oct. 12 by the AFL-CIO executive council. At AFL-CIO president George Meany's direction, the council rejected a program for fighting discrimination in unions, offered by Sleeping Car Porters president A. Philip Randolph, and instead blamed the Negro leader for the "gap that has developed between organized labor and the Negro community." It also accused Randolph of discrimination, charging that his union does not have white staff members and that there are no white Pullman porters.

Randolph's censure came in a subcommittee report approved by the council in answer to his 70-page memorandum outlining discrimination in unions and offering a program to combat it. Randolph rejected the charges against him and predicted that the council's action would "create a sense of frustration and anger among Negro trade unionists and in the Negro community as a whole toward organized labor."

SWIFT REACTION: Randolph's prediction was borne out the next day when Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, and Dr. Martin Luther King denounced the council. Wilkins said censure of Randolph was a "coverup" for the "racial discrimination and segregation inside labor." He also said that "it can only be regarded as a further indication of the moral bankruptcy of the AFL-CIO leadership."

Dr. King called the council's action "shocking and deplorable" and added that "as a friend of labor, I hope that sober second thoughts will cause it to re-examine its action and formally withdraw the report."

The Negro American Labor Council's New York chapter said it would circulate petitions among Negro unionists denouncing the federation's report.

1959 CLASH: Meany's hostility toward Randolph first surfaced at the federation's convention in 1959, when the Negro leader proposed an ultimatum to unions with color-bar provisions in their constitutions. Meany proposed to handle the matter in his own time and challenged Randolph, "Who the hell appointed you spokesman for all the Negroes?" Since then Randolph organized the Negro American Labor Council and reports by the NAACP and other organizations have detailed discrimination by unions.

Last March, Randolph offered a code of fair racial practices to the council as the basis for a full-scale campaign. It called for (1) an end to segregated locals; (2) elimination of discrimination in apprentice-training programs; (3) appointment of Negroes to policy-making positions in the AFL-CIO and in affiliated unions; and (4) reorganization of the federation's civil rights department with a Negro as director. Randolph also proposed that Meany take the chairmanship of the civil rights committee to give it the full weight of his moral force."

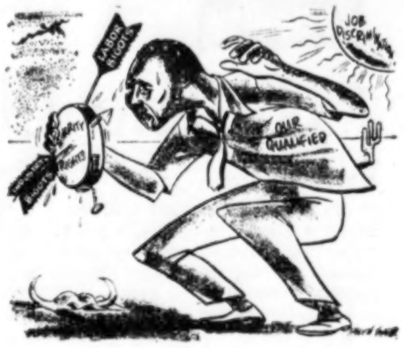
Meany postponed discussion until the council's June meeting and then he referred the code to a subcommittee of George Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks; Richard F. Walsh, president of the Intl. Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees; and Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Meany accused the Negro American Labor Council of "slander" but he said he didn't object to its existence if "they will keep out of our business and attend to their own."

MEANY INFLUENCE: The subcommittee's report clearly bore Meany's label. It called the AFL-CIO "a major and a foremost force" for civil rights. It sidestepped some of Randolph's charges and it emphasized minor factual errors in his report—e.g., where Randolph said no Negroes work, it gave names of a handful. Where Randolph complained there were no Negro officials or convention delegates, the report asked, "Does he advocate a quota system . . . based on race?"

The report acclaimed Meany's civil rights record and pointed to his awards from the Urban League and others. It accused Randolph of failing in his responsibility to answer attacks by the Negro community on the AFL-CIO. It noted that his union's agreement with the Office Employees Union does not contain a non-discrimination clause and that he has never fought for such a clause with the Pullman company.

FIGHT PROMISED: At a press conference a reporter noted that the report rejected Randolph's proposal to expel offending unions because "expulsion, as such, does not cure the offending practices." He asked Meany how this reconciled with the Teamsters' expulsion. Meany answered that, unlike Randolph, he did not equate jimcrow with corruption, "just as I don't equate Hungary with Little Rock."

He called on Randolph to come to his "side of the table" and to stop "throwing rocks at me." Meany added that in the last two or three years Randolph had been "associating with militant groups and hasn't cooperated with us."



Tapley in the Amsterdam News, New York
Time to be rescued

Randolph said he would raise the issue at the AFL-CIO convention in Miami in December. But barring an unexpected revolt he is not likely to go far. Voting on the council to accept the report were such former CIO liberals as James Carey, Joseph Curran and Joseph Beirne. Only Randolph opposed it.

FEDERAL REPORT: The day after Randolph's rebuke, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission issued a report substantiating most of his charges. It said that despite official statements, "most international unions have failed to exhibit any profound concern over civil rights problems."

Although the AFL-CIO council rejected Randolph's charges of discrimination in apprentice training programs as management's doing, the commission found union-management collusion against Negroes in the construction industry's apprentice program.

Of the federation's civil rights program, Berl I. Bernhard, the commission's staff director, said, "The efforts of the AFL-CIO have proved to be largely ineffective." The commission called for legislation to bar discrimination by unions.

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"LATIN AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO THE CUBAN REVOLUTION"
Report by **Bert Wainer,** editor of Student Council Bulletin, just returned after Latin American tour.
Sun., Oct. 29, 7 p.m.
Music Rm., Fine Arts Bldg., 410 S. Michigan Blvd. Don. $1.
Ausp: Fair Play For Cuba Committee

DETROIT

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LOS ANGELES

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Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m.
L.A. SOBELL COMMITTEE invites you to hear MARTIN HALL speak on **"WAR OVER BERLIN?**—A Time for Spy Hunts & War Hysteria."
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United Nations Folksay
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MINNEAPOLIS

BERT WAINER, editor Student Council publication, will speak on **Latin America Looks at Cuba,** on Fri., Oct. 27, 8 p.m., at the University Branch of YMCA, 1425 University Av., S.E. Ausp: Univ. of Minn. Student Council Fair Play for Cuba Comm. and Twin Cities Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

SAN FRANCISCO

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75th **ANNIVERSARY OF STATUE OF LIBERTY.** Special Concert of Nationalities, Sun., Oct. 29, 2 p.m., Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48 St. Participating: Lithuanian Singing Society, Ukrainian Leontovich Chorus, Dnipro Folk Dancers. Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith will speak on the McCarran Act and the 75th Anniversary of the Statue of Liberty. Sponsor: Amer. Comm. Prot. of For. Born.

Mon., Oct. 23, 8 p.m., **DR. OTTO NATHAN,** chairman of N.Y. Council to Abolish the House Un-American Committee, will discuss "Suppression of Civil Liberties" at the Allerton Community Center, 68. Allerton Av., Bronx. Musical Program—Adm. Free.

GALA PARTY—Dances of all nations, community singing, entertainment at Burning Issues, 67 2nd Av. (corn. 4 St.) Contribution 75c.

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Sun., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments. 230 W. 16 St., Apt. 1-A. Phone: DA 8-6154, afternoons. Cont. $1. Part 2 of a series.

BOOKS

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In January, 1959, when we of Liberty Book Club were introducing our Prometheus Paperbacks, we sent every GUARDIAN reader an advance copy of our first Prometheus book, C. Wright Mills' **The Power Elite.** To be successful, we had to have a return of 30% and all our Madison Ave. friends said we were mad indeed; that a 2% or 3% return was considered high in commercial ventures. Well, we got a 35% return, 20% signing up for the new book club and another 15% paying a dollar for the book. That's how Prometheus Paperbacks were launched. (By the way, if you are one who didn't respond, don't bother to send the book back, but we could use the dollar if you thought the book was worth it.)

This fall we sent you another such unsolicited mailing—Prof. Fred Warner Neal's remarkable analysis of the Berlin situation, **War and Peace and the Problem of Berlin,** plus a copy of **Cuba vs. the CIA,** by Robert E. Light and Carl Marzani. Because of their timeliness, we looked for a quicker and bigger return by far than we've had thus far. In full confidence that it is the beguiling Indian summer weather, and not apathy, that is delaying your response, we are waiting to hear from you. Won't you please look over our mailing, with its four alternatives, and act on one of them this week? By the way, Prof. Neal's Berlin pamphlet is available in bulk at ten for $1; 100 for $8. It can win most of your Berlin arguments for you. Try it!

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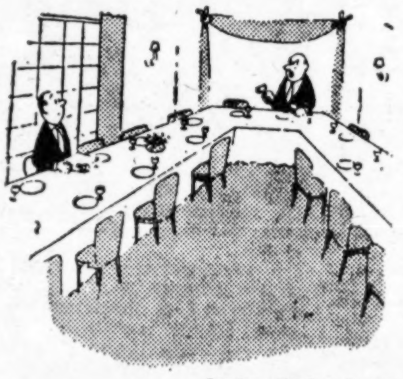
THE GALLERY

A LETTER FROM FRED SCHWARZ to sympathizers of his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, addressed "Dear Christian Friend," reports that the group spent $45,000 to defeat Dr. Cheddi Jagan in the recent election in British Guinea. Schwarz said that "three teams led by Dr. Joost Sluis, equipped with films and mobile units, toured the rural areas, but election day brought sad news." Jagan won . . . . The Civil Defense Administration approved a plan by a Dallas company for a combination fallout shelter-swimming pool . . . . During last month's hurricanes, emergency shelters on Maryland's East Shore were set up on a segregated basis . . . . From **Life** magazine: "Arriving for a Paris vacation with a wardrobe which included 440 pairs of shoes, 55 evening jackets and 818 handkerchiefs, 180 sweaters and 714 neckties, 127 summer suits, 77 autumn suits, 154 pairs of gloves, 12 watches and 165 watchbands, Iran's Khaibar Khan explained with disarming candor: 'I was fortunate to be born in the middle of an area where oil comes from.' " . . . When desegregation came to Memphis, one diehard racist took her son out of the fourth-grade class, asserting, "We will either transfer him or move plumb out of the city. We may go back to Mississippi where they don't let them go to school with whites." The son added: "Yeah, I'd rather be dumb than go to school with them."

IN A RECENT POLL by the San Francisco **Chronicle,** 67% voted "yes" to the proposition: "The United States should modify its outright opposition to admission of Red China to the UN under any circumstances." On setting up a permanent UN military "peace force," 83% voted "yes." . . . In a poll of religious leaders by the **Texas Observer,** Rt. Rev. Joseph L. Manning of the Catholic archdiocese of San Antonio said the "wholesale use of atomic weapons" would be immoral, that is, if we killed the innocent as well as the guilty," and especially if it were done as an act of aggression, but "no one has said clearly what constitutes aggression." He also said that "no moralist or theologian has said atomic war is immoral, as such." . . . The Toho Co. in Japan has produced a film, **The Last War,** on the danger of an accidental nuclear explosion touching off a war. The company hopes to show it abroad but negotiations have not been completed . . . . The Dynamic Management Corp. was fined $400 this month for violations in an East Harlem tenement where a 10-month-old baby was bitten by a rat. Head of the corporation is David B. Solove, who is a member of the executive board of Conservatism, Rehabilitation and Renewal Foundation, Inc., an organization recently organized to improve slum tenements.



London Sunday Express

"Will the chairman of the membership drive please give his report?"

IN A SELF-STYLED CRUSADE to get "filth off the shelves," police in Wheaton, Va., arrested four employees of a drug store for selling Henry Miller's **Tropic of Cancer.** Last August the Justice Dept. held that the book was not obscene under a Supreme Court ruling . . . . Unwanted censors also popped up in San Quentin penitentiary, where it was announced that "no inmate will depict nude bodies in paintings, carvings, sculpture, or any other artistic medium." . . . A bright reader stamps her mail: "Report obscene mail to your postmaster. He thrives on it."

—Robert E. Light

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PLP 101—DVORAK, SYMPHONY NO. 5 in E MINOR (**"New World"**), Czechoslovakian Philharmonic Orchestra under Talich.

PLP 102 — KHATCHATURIAN, SUITE from the GAYNE BALLET, C.P.O. directed by Chalabala.

PLP 103 — RIMSKY-KORSAKOV. SCHEHERAZADE, C. P. O. under Chalabala.

PLP 104—MOZART: VIOLIN CONCERTO IN D MAJOR #4, Jiri Novak, violinist, with Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. by Talich. PLUS **MOZART: CONCERTO FOR BASSOON AND ORCHESTRA,** C.P.O. cond. by Ancerl.

PLP 105 — BEETHOVEN, SYMPHONY NO. 6 ("Pastoral"), C.P.O. under Karel Sejna.

PLP 106—MOUSSORGSKY-RAVEL: PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION, C.P.O., Pedrotti, cond.

PLP 107—ROSSINI: OPERA OVERTURES (Barber of Seville, Italiana in Algeri, Semiramide), C.P.O., Sejna, cond.

PLP 108—FAMOUS OVERTURES AND PRELUDES (William Tell, Carmen, Merry Wives of Windsor, etc.), Vienna Symphony and C.P.O.

PLP 110—DEBUSSY: LA MER, NOCTURNES 1 & 2; C.P.O., cond. by Desormiere.

PLP 114—RAVEL: BOLERO AND RHAPSODIE ESPAGNOL, C.P.O., cond. by Desormiere and Silvestri.

PLP 115 — RICHARD STRAUSS: ROSENKAVALIER WALTZES & TIL EULENSPIEGEL: Vienna State Orch., Swarowsky, and C.P.O., Swarowsky.

PLP 117—BEETHOVEN: "MOONLIGHT" SONATA & APASSIONATA SONATA, by Rauch and Vandrovic, pianists, respectively.

PLP 120—TCHAIKOVSKY: CONCERTO NO. 1, with **Sviatoslav Richter** and the C.P.O. under Ancerl.

PLP 122—PROKOFIEV—SYMPHONY No. 7, C.P.O., cond. by Anosov.

PLP 124 — LISZT: CONCERTO PATHETIQUE & SPANISH RHAPSODY, with the Hungarian State Symphony cond. by Vaszy & Lehel.

PLP 125—THIS IS HUNGARY. A collection of authentic Folk Songs and Dances.

PLP 126—LISZT: LES PRELUDES Leipzig Gewandhaus Orch., Konwitschny cond.; and **TASSO,** Prague Symphony Orch., cond. by Smetacek.

PLP 129 (*STEREO PLPS)—BEETHOVEN: SYMPHONY NO. 3; Czech Philharmonic under Von Matacic.

PLP 130 (*STEREO PLPS)—RIMSKY-KORSAKOV: SUITES FROM OPERAS LE COQ D'OR & KITEZH; Prague Sympnony, Smatcek, cond.

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PLP 132 (*STEREO PLPS)—PROKOFIEV: ROMEO AND JULIET SUITE; Czech Philharmonic under Ancerl.

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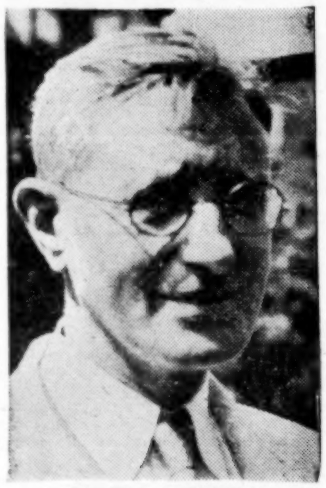
NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The 'detestable' doctrines

WITH YOU I have read the stirring opinions of Justice Black with the greatest respect and sympathy. He has given us a new and richly documented contribution to the struggle for civil rights and the defense of the Constitution. We are reminded of other contributions to the American struggle for freedom—of Jefferson and Whitman and Lincoln and Douglass and Debs and Commager—to mention only a few of the most divergent outlook, yet all united in the essential element of American democracy at its best: Its humanity and belief in the common sense of man, provided he be correctly informed.



DIRK J. STRUIK
Information is the key

Yes, if correctly informed. I thought of this when I read in the dissenting opinion of Justice Black [on the McCarran Act decision of June 5] the ominous words: "This whole Act . . . embarks this country for the first time on the dangerous adventure of outlawing groups that preach doctrines that nearly all Americans detest." This is true. But do nearly all Americans really detest these doctrines? Let us examine some of them:

Is it perhaps the demand for full rights for national or racial or religious minorities? At least half of our nation, if not more, does not detest this demand.

Is it perhaps the curbing of the great monopolies? I think that most of the millions in our trade unions will agree.

Is it the demand for peaceful coexistence and for peaceful solution of controversies in general? The answer is obvious, and so it is with respect to the demand for the end of colonialism, for workers' protection against automation. . . .

I even wonder whether there is a general abhorrence of the final goal of socialism, whether there is not more complacence and indifference than disgust. The subject is simply not on the order of the day. But the American public has been quite eager to accept measures that before were denounced as socialistic, such as unemployment insurance, or social security.

THE ANSWER IS, of course, that the public is not only not correctly informed, but is grossly and deliberately misinformed. What the public does not like—and justly so—is conspiracy, espionage, subservience to a foreign power, be it the Soviet Union, Great Britain or the Vatican. But these are exactly the things neither the Communists nor any other progressive or left radical group advocate, and court records bear this out.

It is exactly the purpose of the laws we oppose here [McCarran and Smith Acts—Ed.] and of the institutions that stand behind them, to perpetuate these false ideas about the left. And they have great power, which reaches into our press, radio, television, trade unions, churches and schools.

These men who have made these laws, and the men who perpetrate these falsehoods, run counter to the eloquent words by which our President ended his July 25 speech:

"For all of us want to see our children grow up in a country of peace, and in a world where freedom endures. I know that sometimes we get impatient, we wish for some immediate action that would end our perils."

Our gathering represents an example of such immediate action. With the laws now on the statute books our perils increase. And four of our nine Supreme Court justices agree.

BUT OUR STRUGGLE is not for freedom alone; it is a part of our struggle for truth. We want the principles of Marxism recognized for what they are: A part of our Western heritage of social science and philosophy, without distortion. And above all, without the vulgarity that accompanies this distortion. Let us never forget that what Marxism had to say only too often has been that which was later accepted. I mentioned social security and unemployment insurance. We fought also for collective security in the 30s.

And now we plead for an understanding of socialism, the only road to permanent peace. . . . The discussion of this subject is intentionally prevented and bedeviled in this country by powerful groups. . . . As a result, everybody in the world is willing to discuss it intelligently except the American people.

In the spirit of Justice Black's final words:

"I would leave the Communists free to advocate their beliefs in proletarian dictatorship publicly and openly among the people of this country with full confidence that the people will remain loyal to any democratic government truly dedicated to freedom and justice—the kind of government which some of us still think of as being 'the last best hope of the earth'."

I would like to add that, as I understand the communists, this "proletarian dictatorship" is just an awkward term for something very much like that democratic government, truly dedicated to freedom and justice, of which Justice Black speaks.

—Dirk J. Struik

(Address delivered at the founding meeting of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties in New York City.)